

THE WORLD

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No. 1

TOMORROW



WHICH DICTATOR?

JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY

Latin America and Revolution

SAMUEL GUY INMAN

Hysterical Merchandising

GEORGE A. COE

JANUARY 4th

10 cents a copy, \$3.00 a year

WHAT NEXT IN GERMANY?

H. N. Brailsford

The World Tomorrow

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Ex Cathedra

WE are all supposed to be poor now. Nevertheless, there were still 115 individuals who had an income of a million dollars and over in the year 1931, according to figures just published by the United States Treasury. A rational society would hardly permit a wage differential higher than \$25,000. That means that if we deal rationally with the problem of income distribution there is still enough income in America to prevent starvation.

Of course we do not believe that a political society could recapture all but \$25,000 of a million-dollar income. We must have an economic society which does not permit million-dollar incomes. While taxation is not a final way out of the difficulties of our civilization, it must be used for immediate purposes. Everything must be done in the next months to prevent the substitution of sales taxes for income taxes.

A New York judge dealt leniently with a school teacher who had committed fraud in order to provide her daughter with luxuries and prepare her for a movie career. He based his decision on the report of two alienists who declared the defendant highly endowed intellectually but emotionally unbalanced. The wisdom of the court in basing its decision upon psychiatric findings is to be applauded. Meanwhile, it may be worth noting that the poor deranged mother is probably only a little more abnormal and pathetic than many parents who foolishly try to buy happiness for their children by heaping luxuries upon them. Furthermore, some of these luxuries are secured by methods only a little more covertly dishonest than the one the unhappy mother used.

Sir Tej Sapru, one of the liberal Indian leaders attending the third Indian round table conference, has informed the British government that there is small possibility of securing the acceptance of the new constitution in India as long as Gandhi is

in jail and 15,000 other Indian patriots are incarcerated. "Give us a chance," he implored "to discuss with our own countrymen these vital problems which we have been discussing with you." The way of conference and the way of oppression are incompatible. Imperialists must learn that lesson.

A COMMITTEE of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People organized a boycott against Kroger stores in Toledo because of their failure to employ Negroes in stores which were patronized chiefly by Negro customers. The boycott resulted in the employment of six Negro clerks and one manager. This victory, if placed beside the warning of Sir Tej Sapru, reveals the possibilities as well as the limits of coercion in social relations. We are glad to note that an Episcopal clergyman was the leader of the boycott committee in Toledo. The Negro church must deal realistically with the problem of its people's disinheritance. We see no reason to regard this use of the boycott against white oppressors as incompatible with the Christian ideals of the church. Coercion is always a dangerous instrument, but it is necessary. The spirit of love in Christianity must not flee from but dominate the intricacies of a social system. The social struggle between the white race and the Negro race is a reality. It must be recognized as a reality if a Christian ethic is to be made relevant to it.

"We must banish fear, resentment, discouragement and pessimism and live on hope, optimism and goodwill," declares the Sachem of Tammany Hall. Thus the head of Tammany voices sentiments strangely similar to those heard from many modern pulpits. If the pulpit would preach more repentance and less hope it might have a message that a Tammany sachem could not imitate so unctuously.

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Retrospect and Prospect

These distinctions of time are so arbitrary. We ring the bells on New Year's eve and spend the evening in either prayer or hilarity, and in either case expect that our will and our incantations can force inexorable time to become disjointed and reveal something in the new year which it did not reveal in the old. The old year was full of misery: but may the new year be the year of redemption! In the old year the depression reached its lowest depths. Perhaps we will "turn the corner" in the new year. Such are our hopes. We want salvation from the endless chain of human sin and misery in which the sin of the year before yester-year results in the misery of today. We hope that it can make an arbitrary break in time and call one unit 1932 and another 1933, and that if we can celebrate the transition from one unit to the other by a little magic and a little sentimentality, the redemption will be accomplished. It is not as easy as that.

Let us look at the year 1932. It will go down in history as filled with as much human misery as any of the dreadful war years a decade and a half ago. In our own country unemployment reached some unbelievably high figure close to 13 million. It was the year in which the municipalities all became bankrupted and failed to maintain even that minimum relief which they had previously given under our anarchic system of unemployment relief. The depression did not arrive by chance and was not aggravated by fortuitous circumstance. It is the cumulation of the sins of a social system which does not distribute the wealth of the modern machine equitably; and it deepened in 1932 because the fall in prices aggravated rather than relieved the inequality of distribution. It will deepen still further, despite our hopes, if we do not learn the lesson that mutuality is the law of life and that a technological age has made the law of mutuality more imperative than ever. If those who benefit from social inequality will not learn that lesson until they have reduced our civilization to chaos (and there is some evidence that the lesson is too difficult to warrant any other expectations), the year 1933 may be worse than the year 1932. The pious wishes, hopes and promises of the great of the world which the newspapers publish on New Year's Day will not make it otherwise.

The year 1932 was the scene of a political campaign in America. The campaign was fought on two issues, beer and prosperity. The first issue was enveloped in confusion and the second in dishonesty.

The confusion about the first issue will result in the triumph of beer in the new year. But it will not be a triumph for anything good or lasting. The passions of controversy made it impossible to abolish an experiment which had failed in favor of a more rational method of dealing with an ancient social evil. The psychology of conflict merely resulted in wiping out whatever advance may have been achieved in the prohibition era. We will be back where we were over a decade ago. We may have made confusion worse confounded, for we are going to try to relieve taxation pressure by liquor licenses. It will be a dangerous experiment to try to drink ourselves into prosperity or to inundate deficits with a flood of liquor.

The dishonesty of the prosperity issue will not become immediately apparent. The political conflict on that issue was between two parties, one of which wanted to wait for prosperity without adjusting political action to a new economic situation, while the other hoped to prime the pump of prosperity by a "new deal" which was not too new to scare the beneficiaries of the old. If the Democrats try an inflationary movement they may actually bring our prosperity back for several years. If they fail to do that and do not go beyond the vague promises of unemployment relief and farm aid heard in the campaign, they may slightly mitigate the miseries of the depression but they will not overcome it.

The year 1932 brought the issue of war debts to a final climax but it did not settle the problem. The way that problem hangs over into the new year is rather symbolic of our total situation. The year 1932 established Japan in her supremacy over Manchuria. Some kind of report is still to be made on the matter, we believe, before the League of Nations, but no one expects any further decisive action. Japan will hold on to Manchuria until she is dislodged either by a Chinese boycott or by her own financial predicament.

Every major problem which has come to a crisis in 1932 has its roots deep in history. Every misery from which we suffer is the punishment which an inexorable history metes out for our sins and those of our fathers and our fathers' fathers. In a very real sense the words of Omar Khayyam are true:

The moving Finger writes; and, having writ,
Moves on: nor all your Piety nor Wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a line,
Nor all your tears wash out a word of it.

But the situation is not quite as hopeless as those

words imply. New and creative and redemptive forces do appear in history. They do not appear automatically or at the behest of pious and sentimental hopes. They appear if we have discovered the error of our ways and repented of them or when evil and error have run their full course and destroyed themselves. Since repentance is a very difficult achievement, the second way, the way of judgment, is frequently the only way to salvation. All this gives us no cause to expect much of 1933, but it gives us reason not to despair of human history.

Technocracy

The popular reception which has been accorded to Technocracy has not been rivaled since the launching of Mah Jong and cross-word puzzles. The extent and intensity of the popular interest indicates that while people are not yet ready either to vote or work concertedly for a new order, they have an uneasy feeling that the present society may experience an early apocalyptic doom and that they are very curious as to what lies beyond. About the nature of Technocracy's proposals, we shall have more to say in later issues when, we hope, that organization will have published far more detailed data than it has as yet in the extremely impressionistic articles which have appeared in the *New Outlook*, *The Living Age*, and *Harpers*. But these three comments we can make:

(1) That Howard Scott and his followers seem to ignore the way in which efficiency improved by lowering money costs leads to lower prices and thus to increased consumption, and how, even if the quantity demanded of a particular article does not increase sufficiently to absorb all of the former workers in that industry, the released purchasing power of the consumers and the greater profits of the enterprises will be transferred to other industries and thus build up opportunities for employment elsewhere. It is true that this tendency may be partially negated by the decreased quantity of purchases made by those who are immediately thrown out of work. But this is certainly never wholly the case and there is a net force making for re-employment which seems not to have been seriously considered by Mr. Scott.

(2) That the Technocrats are ill-advised to center their attack upon the price system, as the chief barrier in the way of a well-ordered life and are quite naïve in their advocacy of "energy units" as a substitute. We purchase commodities not to obtain energy but to satisfy wants. There may be far more energy in a pound of cheese than in a necktie or in a one-five thousandth share of a concert by Menuhin. Does it follow, however, that we would or should pay correspondingly more for the cheese than for the other two? As a matter of fact every economic system, except a rational communism, would have to have a money and price system wherein people might spend generalized pur-

chasing power on those objects and services which they desired. The real difficulty lies not so much with prices as such as with the system of private profit. Because private profits cannot be made, the great productive apparatus of the country is closed down in the face of a human need which cries aloud for its products.

(3) That the Technocrats are indulging in wistful day-dreaming if they believe that the present owners of industry will voluntarily turn full control over it to the engineers to run as they see fit. No such voluntary abdication of power ever has or probably ever will occur. A technocracy allied to the labor, socialist, or communist movements could do much, but such a movement floating in the void, while it may stir men's minds, will not provide the medium for any real shift of economic power.

But whatever the defects in the concrete proposals of the Technocrats may be, they have at least momentarily broken through the listless apathy of this bewildered generation and given to it a glimpse of what life might be in an ordered and well-run society. For that we should be grateful.

J. Middleton Murry, Revolutionist

Mr. J. Middleton Murry, who has become a Marxian within the past year, has been, in spite of the brevity of his novitiate, illumining the problems of our civilization from the Marxian perspective in a series of articles appearing in his magazine, *The Adelphi*.

THE WORLD TOMORROW takes the liberty of reprinting one of these articles, entitled "Which Dictator?" in this issue because it believes that Mr. Murry has grasped the relationship between the moral and the economic factors in the revolutionary situation in which we stand and expressed them in clearer terms than any contemporary journalist. He does not make the mistake of the liberals who try to do justice to the rational and moral possibilities in a social situation by obscuring the factors of economic determinism. Nor does he allow himself the extreme moral cynicism of the modern Communists. He attempts, in fact, to prove that this cynicism is detrimental to the cause of achieving a classless society. He believes that a real moral act is involved in espousing the cause of a classless society. He knows that it must be based upon the economic and social experience of the workers primarily, but he points out that most workers are still bourgeois and that the ideal of a classless society is therefore one which moral and social idealists, whether bourgeois or proletarian, must espouse in defiance of proletarian as well as bourgeois inertia. His criticism of the Communist strategy in the Western world seems to us sound and convincing and he is rendering the cause of radicalism a genuine service, in our belief, by his penetrating analysis of moral and economic issues which are still subject to great confusion in the minds of both liberals and radicals.

Well-Meaning But Inadequate

So desperate is the need of the unemployed that one hesitates to criticize any honest effort after more adequate relief. Especially does one hesitate to criticize any efforts to put the unemployed to work. There can be no partial resumption of prosperity without more work, and it is elemental that self-respecting individuals prefer work to relief without work. Nevertheless, every self-help plan for the benefit of the unemployed is not necessarily good. Each must be judged on its merits and the final test is whether or not the plan in question will hasten or delay an adequate social approach to an emergency more desperate than all save the greatest wars.

We approach this situation convinced that unemployment is inherent in the capitalist system. The problem of immediate relief has reached a point where it can be met only by action of the Federal government to provide a maintenance wage for every unemployed worker, which maintenance wage should as soon as possible be transformed to a regular wage for useful social work under an immense program of public works, including housing. If necessary, there should also be an arrangement under governmental authority to take over idle factories in which to put idle men to work to produce for their own needs. This plan not only meets the relief situation, but psychologically and practically sets us forward toward a coöperative society.

When, however, so-called self-help plans are formed within the capitalist order, they must be examined to find out whether their purpose, or at any rate, their effect may not be to draw off some of the more energetic of the unemployed so that they will not demand effective social attack on a problem which no volunteer self-help efforts can meet. Where the unemployed themselves—as in Seattle, and to a greater or less degree in other cities, especially on the Pacific Coast—organize and carry on their own commissaries and exchange the products of their labors, they gain rather than lose in working class morale and in effective desire for something more than they are able to do by their own efforts. When, however, a group of well-meaning economists and engineers organize a labor exchange such as that which has now been put into action on the northern tip of Manhattan Island, the outlook is more dubious.

Theoretically the New York plan, as explained to us by one of its directors, goes somewhat like this: A doctor finds that he could use a girl as office secretary but he has no money to pay her. He joins the Labor Exchange and pays the girl in scrip. The girl takes the scrip, let us say, to a shoe store whose proprietor is also a member of the exchange and willing to accept it. He takes it to a grocer. The grocer in turn may go to the doctor or dentist who originally

employed the girl for some form of medical service. Within the group scrip circulates as money does in the larger world. Store-keepers, presumably, will only accept scrip up to a certain amount of their total trade.

In a heterogeneous community like any neighborhood in New York City it is hard to see how this plan will work on any scale big enough to make it effective. To make it work at all will involve an enormous diversion of energy into that particular task with highly problematical economic results and with the virtual certainty that a great many people will use the plan as an alternative to effective social action and as an excuse for not demanding such action. As a means of really transforming the capitalist system, the plan is not likely to be much more effective than various coöperative colonies have been. There is, moreover, the positive danger that, entirely contrary to the spirit of the directors of the Labor Exchange, the use of scrip within the association may mean the employment of a certain number of workers paid by scrip at a lower rate than they would get if they were regularly employed and paid by money wages.

We view the experiment at Inwood, on the northern tip of Manhattan Island, with sympathy for its object but with a great deal of skepticism not unmixed with fear lest propaganda for this plan and the very qualified measure of success for it, which is all that is possible, will have a serious effect in checking propaganda for adequate governmental action for unemployment relief, and will dull appreciation of the fact that our whole capitalistic system is breaking down. There is no reason at all to suppose that such an enterprise will add to the solidarity or aggressiveness of the unemployed in behalf of their class as a whole, and that is the chief consideration for those who know the need not so much of plans as of power behind them.

Light on the R. F. C.

In a very striking article in the current issue of *Harpers*, Mr. John T. Flynn again puts the American public in his debt by revealing the nature of some of the loans made by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation during the months from February to July, when the official policy of secrecy was being pursued to the uttermost. While the announcements by the President and the R. F. C. during this period carefully avoided giving the identity of the specific banks which were being aided, they were nevertheless so worded as to carry the direct implication that most of the money was going to aid a large number of small banks instead of a small number of large ones. Mr. Flynn now shows, however, that in addition to the celebrated 90-million dollar loan to General Dawes' bank, 65 millions were loaned to Mr. Giannini's Bank of America in California, 19 millions to the First Central Trust Company of Akron, and 14 millions to the Union Trust

Company, of Cleveland, of which Joseph R. Nutt, treasurer of the Republican National Committee, was chairman of the Board up until the middle of June. More than 12 millions were loaned to the Guardian Trust Company of Cleveland, of which Atlee Pomerene, the successor to General Dawes as the head of the R. F. C. was a director. In addition, the Baltimore Trust Company, of which the Republican Senator P. L. Goldsborough was vice-chairman, was authorized to borrow 7.4 millions and the Union Guardian Trust Company, of Detroit, of which Secretary of Commerce Chapin was a director, was given credits of nearly 13 millions.

Mr. Flynn thus shows that the statements of the Administration about where the relief was going were almost intentionally calculated to deceive. He also points out that the big banks which obtained these loans were almost invariably under the control of bankers who were political figures on the side and that most of them were either in a holding company type of organization or had investment affiliates. The very significant query is raised as to whether or not the associations may not have contributed to the plight of these banks and hence have forced them to beg for aid.

Mr. Flynn's disclosures should prompt the Senate to undertake a searching investigation into the practices of the R. F. C. We predict that when the history of this depression is studied by the students of a few decades hence, nothing will seem more revealing than the contrast between the enormous amounts of money loaned the large banks and the niggardliness with which Federal relief was granted to the starving unemployed.

The Little Entente

The plight of Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and Rumania at the present moment illustrates the validity of the old adage that you cannot keep a prisoner in the ditch unless you stay with him. Under the flush of victory, annihilating treaties were imposed upon Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria. The map of South-eastern Europe was redrawn. Vast stretches of territory were carved out of the vanquished states, leaving the victims in a fatally mutilated condition. But in the endeavor to maintain the new order the victors have saddled themselves with a crushing burden of armaments, and have strangled international trade by a network of high tariffs. The result is that not only are the defeated powers bleeding to death, but the beneficiaries of the peace treaties are themselves suffering terribly from aggravated anemia.

The perpetuation of prevailing economic and political arrangements can result only in tragedy for all concerned. Yet the statesmen of the Little Entente gathered in Belgrade recently for the purpose of

strengthening their common resolution to resist all efforts to revise the peace treaties. The immediate occasion of their assembling was their mutual alarm over concessions to Germany being made by France. A correspondent cables from Vienna that "the Little Entente has realized with dismay that the financial clauses of the peace treaties have already gone by the board and the military clauses are now under severe cross-fire. Only the territorial provisions still stand. It is just these, however, which, while almost a question of life and death for Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and Rumania, are of no direct interest to France." And so reason is paralyzed by fear, and the hour of economic doom swiftly approaches for the contestants who are struggling in a fatal embrace.

And the apprehensions of other peoples are not diminished by the remembrance that the World War had its origins in Serajevo, and that the 1931 crisis which led to the Hoover moratorium was precipitated by a financial crash in Vienna.

Bogies Become Good Jokes

During the presidential campaign many employers sought to intimidate their workers with dire predictions of ruin if President Hoover were not re-elected. Broad hints were dropped, or actual assertions made, that it would be necessary to close down the factory entirely if Franklin D. Roosevelt should be swept into office. Both candidates sought to convey the impression that the contrast in philosophy of government was so momentous that the future of orderly society depended upon the outcome of the election. Over against the eloquent appeal for a new deal was the warning that grass would grow in the streets of many a city. Fear and passion ran high, and tens of thousands of "liberal" votes were lost to Norman Thomas.

But all that is now far away and long ago. President-elect Roosevelt has quickly been taken to the bosom of big business. The ceremonies of inauguration will be accompanied by no tremors of fright on the part of captains of industry or admirals of finance. On the contrary, it is now good form to joke about the scarecrows of the campaign. Listen to a Wall Street spokesman, Dr. Benjamin M. Anderson, Jr., of the Chase National Bank, as he addressed an assembly of manufacturers in Chicago:

We take our politics seriously in the United States while the campaign is on. We get tremendously excited about things. We conjure up bogies and nightmares. Our imaginations are so good that we are even able to believe, for a time, in the caricatures which we create of opposing political parties and of opposing political leaders. But, when the campaign is over, Democrats and Republicans can sit down together at the dinner table and laugh about it. Things that looked terribly earnest and real while the campaign was on become good jokes afterwards.

The joke is on the American people. Instead of

awakening to a realization that both the Republican and the Democratic party are dominated by wealthy conservatives, and of setting themselves seriously to the task of strengthening the Socialist Party or laying the foundations for a new political alignment, they let themselves be stampeded by campaign tom-toms into voting for the status quo under the illusion that they are supporting "the lesser of two evils." The moral of all this is that the time for the Socialists to launch the campaign of 1936 is now.

More Than Ten Billions Offered

Several times within recent weeks we have called attention to the enormous reserves of investors' money now lying idle in the vaults of this country. The fact that a small class of our population has available not only vastly more cash than it can spend for consumers' commodities, but also much more than it can invest at a profit, possesses such momentous social significance that we propose to emphasize it on every possible occasion.

In response to the Federal government's offering, on December 15, of 600 million dollars of securities, bids were received totaling nearly 11 billions! Let the *Financial Chronicle* tell the story (italics are our own):

The results of the subscription to last week's offering by the United States Treasury of \$250,000,000 one-year Treasury certificates bearing interest at the rate of only $\frac{3}{4}$ of 1% per annum—the lowest interest ever paid on a 12-month issue—and the offering at the same time of \$350,000,000 of four-year notes carrying interest at $2\frac{3}{4}$ % per annum, have been announced the present week and have attracted attention by reason of their magnitude. In view of the congestion of the money market the success of these offerings even at the very low rates of interest fixed was a foregone conclusion, but the aggregate of the subscriptions proved of really phenomenal proportions. The one-year certificates were subscribed for over 16 times, reaching \$4,128,000,000 while the four-year Treasury notes offered in amount of \$350,000,000 were subscribed for nearly 20 times, the subscriptions aggregating \$6,677,000,000, making a total for the two issues combined of \$10,805,000,000. Associated Press advices from Washington spoke in glowing terms of the achievement. These accounts stated that Treasury officials, aware that bank cash reserves were the greatest in history, nevertheless were surprised at the keenness of the bidding and the willingness of bankers to tie up funds for a year at the low interest of $\frac{3}{4}$ of 1%. . . . Most of the big bids, too, came from financial and industrial institutions which have idle capital in overwhelming amounts.

Considered in connection with other government financing within recent weeks, these figures reveal the following low rates of interest on Federal obligations: Approximately $\frac{1}{8}$ of one per cent on 91-day bills; $\frac{3}{4}$ of one per cent on 12-month notes; and $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent on four-year issues.

Professor David Friday, in the current issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*, makes a revealing analysis of the financial situation. "Today," he says, "there is an

abundance of funds in the country available for investment. . . . The member banks of the Federal Reserve system alone have excess deposits lying idle at the 12 reserve banks amounting to 500 million dollars. This money pays them no interest and earns them nothing."

It is thus apparent that a major necessity of the present crisis is the utilization of a device for tapping the vast reservoirs of excess investors' capital and releasing it for circulation among the masses of unemployed and other bankrupt consumers. Doubtless numerous devices will be required before substantial progress in this direction can be made. We have never regarded the income tax and the inheritance tax as panaceas, or considered them as adequate by themselves. Nevertheless, it seems obvious that if the increases in the higher brackets of incomes and inheritances were sufficiently drastic, a substantial and immediate contribution to the solution of this problem could be made. Especially, if coupled with a comprehensive plan of public relief and unemployment insurance. Even if the highest rates were lifted to 75 or even 85 per cent, there is reason to anticipate payment of these maximum rates, although accompanied by terrific grumbling. Indeed, the top rate of Federal income tax this year is set at 50 per cent, and beyond this an additional income tax is levied by many state governments. An extra 10 per cent tax on all incomes above \$10,000 would help to relieve the congestion of funds now lying idle in vaults, and would make available a vast sum for the relief of human misery.

Prostituted Advertising

True Story Magazine is one of those silly confession journals which live on the unsatisfied sex curiosity of the masses. It is a rather interesting index of the intelligence of the American public that this magazine has been able to take the curse from itself by means of smartly written advertisements, appearing in journals more respectable than itself. In these advertisements some smart "ad" man philosophizes on the state of the Union, claiming to have a special knowledge of the American mind because of the thousands of personal letters which come to the editor of the journal.

In the most recent advertisement we are treated to an interesting analysis of the methods which the American people used so successfully to overcome the "late" depression. "It is almost weird for us to realize that we who are living now will go down to posterity as the generation that stood at the turning point of history and turned it right," declares the unctuous "ad" man. Just what was it that the American people did to save themselves from disaster? The answer is: "millions of men and women when they got out of a job went quietly back to their homes and when they got out of food and shelter they quietly went to the organizations that were providing for them." Other

millions still employed "went into their pay envelopes and dug up by far the biggest percentage" of what was needed to carry on. Other millions maintained "their buying habits to their utmost capacity in order to preserve the markets of the country.

All this was done because the American people have a better education than other nations. They put three and a quarter million boys and girls through high school in the last two decades. The theory is that these boys and girls came chiefly from the wage earning classes and were fortunate enough to acquire the intelligence in high school to counsel their parents to accept their fate quietly if unemployed, to support the unemployed if they still had a job so that industry would not suffer the horrible fate of European industry, that of being forced to pay unemployment insurance, and finally to buy beyond their income in order that markets might be maintained.

One can hardly expect honest advertising from a "True Story" magazine, but this kind of stuff is so manifestly dishonest that it is a serious indictment of the intelligence of the American reading public that it is possible to present such distortions of the truth week after week without being laughed out of court.

Bigger and Better Ways of Suicide

In his latest volume, William S. Churchill describes the military campaign projected for 1919 by the Allied general staff. If the Armistice had not intervened, the Germans "would have been assaulted in the Summer of 1919 with forces and by methods incomparably more prodigious than any yet employed. Thousands of airplanes would have shattered their cities. . . . Poison gases of incredible malignity, against which only a secret mask (which the Germans could not obtain in time) was proof, would have stifled all resistance and paralyzed all life on the hostile front subjected to attack." But even this is not the least cheerful conclusion reached by this British statesman. "Should war come again to the world," he continues, "it is not with the weapons and agencies prepared for 1919 that it will be fought, but with developments and extensions of these which will be incomparably more formidable and fatal."

In view of the conclusion that another great war will prove to be a ghastly holocaust of human values, one might reasonably suppose that Mr. Churchill would resolutely espouse the cause of pacifism and seek to strengthen the war-resistance movement. On the contrary, however, he is an arch-militarist and die-hard imperialist. He is constantly shrieking for strong-arm measures of repression in India, and consistently advocating big-stick diplomacy.

The military-naval mind is insatiable. Generals and admirals are constantly appealing for larger appropriations. In spite of the fact that 72 cents out of every

dollar expended by our Federal government goes for military defense, war pensions, and war debts, as revealed in a chart which we published on December 21—thus leaving only 28 cents for all other purposes—General MacArthur, in his annual report, recently published, pleads for an increased force of 14,000 officers and 165,000 enlisted men; while the Navy Board asks for 39 new ships at a cost of 250 million dollars; and Admiral Upham utters a solemn warning that national disaster impends if the naval budget is cut. The statement is being circulated widely that the United States navy is rapidly sliding down to third place, below the navies of Great Britain and Japan, and that national humiliation and ruin must necessarily follow in the wake of such a policy.

Further utilization of the diabolical weapons of modern warfare can result only in irretrievable disaster to humanity. Yet war is too deeply embedded in the structure of our society to be exorcised easily and quickly. A peace program that is at all adequate for the times must include the following minimum measures: First, the creation of a powerful war-resistance movement of men and women who have put themselves vigorously on record as refusing to be stampeded into support of war under any circumstances, and who are continuously endeavoring to enlist their fellow citizens in the anti-war crusade. Second, the building of a strong Socialist Party which will help to remove the basic causes of war by bringing about radical changes in capitalism and nationalism, especially by the repudiation of militarism and imperialism. Third, the conducting of a vigorous campaign for drastic reductions in military and naval appropriations, and the combating of militarism in every form, especially as revealed in the R. O. T. C., and C. M. T. C. Fourth, the awakening of the public mind to the desperate need for organizing the world on a basis of peace, and the consequent desirability of having the United States join the World Court, the League of Nations, and the International Labor Office. Fifth, the creation of the international mind and of a new perspective from which to view all such controversial questions as war debts, tariffs, immigration, etc., and the engendering of a willingness to take into account the interests of all parties concerned. Disarmament and the enhancing of the Kellogg Pact's prestige await the inauguration of some such program as we have outlined.

The will to peace is already present in the world. But it remains to be seen whether the universal abhorrence of war can be harnessed to economic and political movements which will effect sufficiently radical changes in capitalism and nationalism to make possible the avoidance of another terrible conflagration. Our ability to bring about these fundamental changes in the spirit and structure of our social order with enough speed will determine whether or not mankind is to be the victim of bigger and better ways of suicide.



as Brailsford sees it

In Fear of Germany

GERMANY is the central point in Europe's problem—central in the sense that here instability is at the maximum. Round it, against their will, in their friendships, alliances and antagonisms revolve the other Powers. Ask why it is that Britain and France have been united since the Lausanne Conference by what is absurdly called a "gentleman's agreement" to consult one another, and the answer is very nearly what it would have been when the "Entente Cordiale" linked them before the War. Each is afraid of what Germany may do, since parliamentary government broke down—her sudden thrusts towards liberation, her contempt for all the fetters of the Versailles system, her alarming rush towards militarism. Each recognizes that in some measure she must be liberated, but they desire that this should happen gradually and in an orderly way, without the total loss of their ascendancy. It was not, as MM. Herriot and MacDonald conceived it, a hostile "encirclement", as the pre-War Triple Entente was, but rather a conservative understanding for moderate reform which may save an existing system.

What, then, is that "system"? It starts with the Versailles Treaty and the alliances that give France supremacy over Europe, but it means very much more—the sanctity of treaties (even when imposed by force), the sacredness in form of a creditor's claims (even when these are so monstrous that they must be abandoned), the rights of property, even the stability of capitalism itself. For in this last respect Germany by her very weakness and recklessness is a more alarming fountain of disturbance than she was under the Kaiser's sway. She is a revolutionary force. The fundamental fact about her state of mind is that, however she is governed, the repeated votes of her electorate invariably return a formidable majority against this "system", for the "Nazis", though none of us would like to recognise their claim to be socialists, are in some vague but very violent sense the opponents of capitalism.

The task of the historian will show how this society, oppressed from without and undermined from below, none the less, by some conservative instinct of self-preservation, has improvised the means of continuing unchanged in its old courses. At a first glance could anything less like the old Imperial Germany be

imagined? There were no Nazis in those days and no Communists. And now Nazis, Socialists and Communists dwarf every other party and consti-

tute a majority for an attitude which would in the old days have been condemned in any court of law as rank treason. The sovereign power is this electorate, including the women (a shocking and unimaginable innovation), which votes in masses that would be irresistible, if they were united, for a socialistic transformation of society. Yet in spite of this, Germany does, as the weeks and months go by, seem to resemble, more nearly than ever, her traditional pre-War self. One seems to be watching a patient who is passing through a profound mental crisis. What he says and what he does are in flat contradiction. What he thinks in the upper layers of his rational conscious intellect is not, one concludes, what he really wishes. He acts steadily and consistently enough, as if his limbs obeyed an alien personality that has taken control of him. His tongue splutters its protests, and yet if you watch his features closely they suggest a measure of content and satisfaction. Stranger still, his friends who knew him in his youth will tell you that his gestures, his turn of speech, his gait and even the timbre of his voice have gone back to what they used to be some 20 years ago. But this is not a case from the Salpêtrière or from Dr. Freud's clinic. It is a political phenomenon. It is the behaviour of one of those composite personalities that we call a nation.

THE reversion is rather more obvious since Herr von Papen disappeared from the scene and General von Schleicher succeeded him as Chancellor. By an amusing reversal of the customary professional types, the diplomatist was the man of violence, while the soldier trusts to tact and persuasion. Von Papen deliberately insulted the Reichstag, trampled on it, and proclaimed his intention of crushing and destroying it. That was not in the best manner of the pre-War Chancellors. Bismarck was much too wise a man to hector in this way. Certainly he was not responsible to the Reichstag. He would on occasion dissolve it, when it opposed his cherished objects. He took on his enemies one at a time, first the Catholics and then the Socialists; but he never tried to fight the whole nation, as von Papen did. He aimed at leadership and won

it. He would negotiate with infinite pains with each party in the Reichstag in order to secure a stable majority for himself. He was an artist in turning the press.

This is, in vastly more difficult circumstances, von Schleicher's technique also. He cannot, however skillful and persuasive he may be, hope to secure a positive governmental majority that will constitute itself his party and defend his program through thick and thin. Neither he nor the subtlest practitioner of parliamentary chess could do that with a Reichstag composed as the present one is. A positive majority is mathematically inconceivable. But a negative majority he may hope for and has for the moment attained—a majority, that is to say, which will not oppose him, or censure him, or try to unseat him; a majority, in short, that will efface itself and let him govern. That does leave with democracy and its all too faithful mirror, the Reichstag, a certain power of veto and control. The Chancellor must feel his way. He must keep in touch with the leaders of the larger parties. He must try to secure, whether before or after action, at least the tacit acquiescence of most of them for what he does. He must do nothing that would simultaneously outrage two or three of the bigger parties to such an extent that they would rush to the unknown evil of another election and another governmental crisis rather than endure the known evil of a non-party "President's ministry". So long as he observes these conditions he may govern, and need concern himself much less with the Reichstag's opinion than ever Bismarck did. For in the old Imperial Germany no Chancellor could legislate or impose taxation by decree. Broadly, however, it is to the initiative of the official that Germany has returned. He acts: she retains in the last resort the power to check him. The present plan is, however, appreciably more democratic than the old one, since the official who wields these immense powers is no longer the nominee of a hereditary Emperor but of an elected President.

CAN this astonishing reversion to type succeed? Can it even endure for a time? I think it may, with the connivance and help of Germany's neighbours, but not otherwise. It must succeed in something. It certainly cannot make Germany prosperous, while the rest of the world is in the trough of the depression. It must therefore live on its diplomatic achievements. Here from the standpoint of German patriotism it is doing very well. It has buried reparations. Germans can now watch with perfect tranquillity the financial storm that rages over the Atlantic. Not even if London and Paris were both of them to shoulder tamely once again their loads of debt, will reparations ever be resumed or even seriously demanded. That everyone realises. The world is

rather slower to perceive that Germany has already freed herself from the military restrictions of the Versailles Treaty. For my part I believe they are as dead as reparations, and that is stone-dead. That will happen lawfully and quietly if the Disarmament Conference should really succeed in producing some kind of concrete treaty, with the figures filled in, to give effect to the masterpiece of ambiguity on which it is now agreed. It has asserted the principle of "equality." It cannot after this impose the Treaty of Versailles even if, as is probable, it wholly fails to define what "security" means. In that event Germany will take her own course. It will be a noisy, risky, precarious course, on the edge not of one but of several precipices. She will create her militia; she will keep her professional army as well; she will equip herself with big guns, tanks, airplanes and submarines, not at first in startling numbers—that she cannot afford—but openly and boldly enough to base her right on usage. When she needs them she will make more—and of the latest pattern.

HER strength lies in this: that France and England dare not push her over the precipice. If they destroy von Schleicher's chances of keeping Germany moderately happy, the alternative is chaos and in some shape revolution. In what shape one need not enquire; with Hitler's rapid descent from the pinnacle of popularity, the revolution begins to look rather more genuine. What he loses, Moscow gains. I take it then that since the world cannot offer Germany prosperity, or work, or peace on any self-respecting basis of disarmament with equality, it will have to give her guns. And that is only a step. Very soon she will compel us to face the problem of her Polish frontier. That is the most intractable of the three problems. The French are difficult because they are reasonable. But reason on this planet is inured to defeat. The Poles on the other hand are difficult because they are romantic. Romance is never defeated: it passes under a cloud and is then more romantic than before. But this problem also the British and French governments, reluctant, protesting, resisting, will in the end have to face. They will have to remove, that is to say, their veto on its settlement. The alternative might be first chaos, and then Communism.

H. N. Brailsford

London, December 19, 1932.

A Request

We would be grateful for the return of any extra copies readers may possess of our issues for January, February, March, July, September 14, October 5 and December 7 of this year.

THE WORLD TOMORROW, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., N.Y.C.

Which Dictator?*

JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY

TO become a revolutionary Socialist is to be revolutionized oneself. And this is not true merely for the "bourgeois" who "having achieved a theoretical understanding of the historical movement as a whole"—in the words of the Communist Manifesto—throws in his lot with the proletariat. For the trouble, in this country, is to find the proletariat. Theoretically, half the population of England is proletariat; practically, it is nothing of the sort.

The *embourgeoisement* of the British worker has proceeded apace since the early 'eighties of last century, when Marx wrung his hands over the untoward phenomenon. Today, the great bulk of the Labour movement and the Coöperative movement is just as bourgeois in outlook and instinct as its capitalist opponents. Nor is this simply the inevitable lag of psychology behind the economic reality. The economic reality is that the great majority of wage-workers in this country have small savings, shares in the coöperative, that "stake in the country" which every good Conservative desires that the worker should possess.

So that the actual proletariat takes some finding. On the whole the British proletariat is only a potential proletariat; and it will need no small convulsion to shake out the potentiality from the actuality.

But, says the literal Marxist, the convulsion will come; and that is the moment.

It is indeed pretty certain that a convulsion will come. But whether it will be of the simple and satisfying kind that the literal Marxist awaits with patient fervour is an altogether different matter. Many things may happen first. The governing class of this country is as instinctively wise as any. It will yield before it breaks. And long before the breaking point has come, by its judicious and instinctive yielding, we may find ourselves neatly enrolled in the Fascist corporate state, with the enthusiastic approval of the "proletarian" Trade Unions.

That, we may believe, would only postpone the final convulsion. But in this matter, time is of the essence of the contract. For if the revolutionary Socialist movement is constantly recruited in the expectation of imminent convulsion, it will be just as constantly depleted by the disappointment of that expectation. Thus, the Communist Party in this country, which builds most exclusively on the expectation of imminent convulsion, inevitably shows a more constantly changing membership than any other Socialist party. The Labour Party today is rich in ex-Communists.

A sane and realistic revolutionary Socialist party would therefore be careful not to arouse, still less to build on, the expectation of imminent convulsion. That is the way to gain ephemeral recruits for a cause that is not ephemeral.

ON what elements, then, can a revolutionary Socialist movement in this country really count in the near future? Only on the revolutionised men, the genuine converts to Socialism. And where are they to be found? Here and there among the workers, here and there among the bourgeois: in both camps they are relatively rare.

The point is that the dogma that the revolutionary Socialist party must be always and wholly a working-class party is futile in the British situation. It must be, first and foremost, a party of revolutionary Socialists—the *cadres* of a future revolutionary Socialist working-class party, no doubt, but an organisation incapable of essential compromise even with the working-class in its present bourgeois condition.

It follows that a true revolutionary Socialist party must be drawn alike from the workers and the bourgeois. And, if we seek to establish the condition of entry into such a party, it appears that in the last analysis they are simple. He, and only he, really belongs to the revolutionary Socialist party who has decided, once for all, that a radical change in the economic basis of society towards economic equality is urgently necessary, and that his own economic individualism shall not stand in the way.

Once that decision is taken he is a free man, first, in that he knows himself to be the conscious servant of historic necessity, and second, in that he is free to approach the question of ways and means towards the end with a completely unprejudiced mind. His mind is not shackled by the chains of unconscious self-interest, or conscious dogmatism.

He sees that the phrases beloved by the Left, if given real content from the conditions of this country, lose nearly all their "revolutionary" dynamic. Thus, for example, the "dictatorship of the proletariat" means, in fact, in this country, the dictatorship of the Trade Unions: and it is as likely that there will be a genuinely revolutionary majority in the disinherited and life-frustrated middle-class within a reasonable period as in the Trade Unions. In fact, a dictatorship of the English proletariat, except in conditions of a psychological revolution under economic stress on which no sane person can reckon, would be as anti-

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revolutionary as the present system. It would be a petty-bourgeois dictatorship.

To believe that Lenin discovered once for all the universal technique of socialist revolution is to believe a vain thing. Lenin's example is to be sought in the spirit, not in the letter: an example of intellectual and moral disinterestedness. The problem which faces a convinced revolutionary Socialist in this country is infinitely more complicated than that which confronted Lenin in October, 1917; and it is likely that our problem, instead of being simplified, has been still further complicated by the Russian precedent, which, though a legitimate inspiration to many, is also a stumbling-block to some of our best potential revolutionary elements. The intelligent revolutionary Socialist can hardly be blamed for despairing of a movement which takes the line of least resistance and tends always to model itself on the Russian pattern. He knows in his heart that that is not how successful revolution is achieved.

IN the new Socialist movement that he desires it will be naturally accepted that many different ways of thought and belief converge in the dynamic revolutionary idea. The Christian who takes his Christianity seriously, the technician who takes his technique seriously, the materialist who takes his materialism seriously, the Laurentian who takes his Lawrence seriously, the economist who takes his economics seriously—all these meet together in the revolutionary idea, the revolutionary experience. Materialism becomes spiritual; spirituality becomes materialistic at the point of the revolutionary synthesis. The man who desires simply that the industrial machine should be allowed to function and the man who longs to lose his life in order that he may save it, become blood-brothers at this point of convergence.

It is to men capable of this creative synthesis, not merely as idea, but as experience, that the new revolutionary socialism must appeal: on these it must draw. There are many ways to revolution, but every one of them demands of the man who will follow it to the end, the annihilation of the self. Technically, the road to economic revolution is direct enough. We have only to distribute purchasing power adequate to our immense productive capacity. But that quite simple technical revolution would immediately disrupt the whole economic machine. Half its necessary labours, at a modest estimate, are performed by human beings acting under economic compulsion. Remove the compulsion and they will, quite rightly, refuse to function at all. You are involved straightway in the necessity of bringing a new kind of compulsion—direct and authoritarian—to bear.

So, for your technical revolution, you are driven back upon the necessity of dictatorship. Which is it

to be? Proletarian, technical, fascistic? The proletarian dictatorship, as we have seen, is mainly a romantic dream in this country. And who will trust the technician to be a technician and nothing more? Like the scientist, he is generally disinterested in but a fraction of himself: nine-tenths of him, and those the submerged, unconscious, determinant portions of the iceberg, are unrevolutionary and unrevolutionised. He is not fit for power. What of the fascist? He also, in so far as he is inspired by an idea at all, is inspired by a dead idea as much as a live one. He is collectivistic; but he is nationalistic, imperialistic. He is two-faced like Janus, and one of his faces is turned irrevocably backwards from the new world.

THE only guarantee that your dictatorship shall be bent wholly towards that new world is that it should have embraced, as a matter of faith so self-evident that it is become a dogma, the ethical Socialist idea of basic economic equality between man and man. Thus, by a détour, we return to the idea of the proletarian dictatorship, which we have already seen to be impossible in so far as it is conceived as the dictatorship of the actual proletariat in England. (Indeed, the proletarian dictatorship in Russia was possible precisely because there were so few proletarians in the country. Had Russia been a country in which the proletarian dictatorship was theoretically possible, it would certainly not have happened there.) The dictatorship of the proletariat, as conceived by the realistic revolutionary Socialist, is the dictatorship not of the actual working class, but of a body of men inspired by the necessity of establishing economic equality and thus laying the foundations of the future classless society, in which the social falsehood of class-distinction, based on economic differentiation, shall be replaced by the social reality of differentiated function—a society based on the obvious truth that the different capacities of men are not due to themselves, and can claim no differentiated reward.

The proletarian dictatorship, therefore, in its only creative and genuinely revolutionary meaning, is a dictatorship of a body of men resolved to carry out not what the actual proletariat actually desires, but what it would desire if it knew its own true interests. It does not know them. The desire of all save one in a thousand proletarians is to be bourgeois. On the one man in a thousand (perhaps one in ten thousand) *who has the imagination and endurance to cease to be proletarian without becoming bourgeois*, the possibility of revolution in this country depends: for that man, who already belongs to the classless society, is a born leader of his fellow working-men. With such men, the bourgeois *who has ceased to be bourgeois in reality, and is therefore incapable of the silly mummery of pretending to be proletarian*, is in natural alliance. Both

alike are members of the classless society, and they are united with an unbreakable bond. Such are the true components of the proletarian dictatorship and of the revolutionary party which alone will be capable of achieving it.

BUT a dictatorship? If England does not love coalitions, still less does it love dictatorship. But, first, there are many things that England does not love that it has got—three million unemployed, the Great War. It is more than possible it will get a dictatorship in the same way: by sheer necessity. Further, this dictatorship, if its material is of the necessary kind (without which it will never be), will not be felt as a dictatorship. Gradually the finest material of the working-class and the bourgeois alike will be drawn into the party that alone is capable of forming an imaginative conception of social revolution and making an imaginative demand upon its members: for, ultimately, the demand is no less than this: "Abandon self all ye who enter here."

Here there is no room at all for the intellectual egoist, as there is none for the economic egoist. Here there is no room for the sectarian: no room for the Christian who cannot see beyond the church, for the technician who cannot see beyond technique, for the communist who cannot see beyond Moscow, for the materialist who cannot see beyond mechanism: but for the Christian, the technician, the Communist, the materialist who can see beyond, this is the place—and he will find no other.

It would be foolish to pretend that such a party exists already: the task of the immediate future is to create it. If the objection is made that such a party has resemblances to Mr. Wells's X society, it may be replied quite frankly that it has. But the difference is more radical than the resemblance. The party must be a working-class party, not in the superficial but in the fundamental sense: it accepts and bases itself upon the working-class only in so far as the working-class is the vehicle of a creative purpose. It cannot and will not accept the values and purposes of the working-class movement as it actually is—permeated with bourgeois ideology often in its most retrograde form. For it, only those elements of the working-class who are conscious of their *creative* revolutionary function are of positive worth. To increase the number of these, to bring to them the liberation of a doctrine by which, at the instant of their acceptance of it, they pass into the classless society of the future, and have immediate experience of the quality of that society—this is the function of the revolutionary party. In it the elements of the future order meet indeed. The bourgeois does not descend, neither does the proletarian ascend; both alike take the plunge forward, the *salto mortale* into the new dimension. Once there, they can face their

single problem with singleness of mind and heart. Each then has his obvious function in the single creative purpose. The worker can educate and lead the worker; the bourgeois the bourgeois. We shall not have the silly spectacle of the shrill-voiced intellectual imploring the worker to be revolutionary; we shall have the worker himself electing with deliberate sacrifice to remain in and of his class that he may attract and fortify the chosen men and give them an example of what revolutionary devotion really means. Still less shall we have the pitiful spectacle of sham-revolutionary intellectuals listening with bated breath, and a feeling of abject inferiority, to the cocksure lecturing of members of the "class-conscious" proletariat. That form of class-consciousness is a silly caricature of the reality. Dynamic class-consciousness is an awareness of the necessity, and an experience of the reality of the classless society. It is the achievement of the imaginative man. Imaginative men are as common in the working-class as in the bourgeoisie: they are rare in both. But once they are united, they will be invincible.

ON the other side, the bourgeois has his specific function in the new body. As the revolutionised worker elects to remain in and of his class, instead of exploiting his ability to "rise" in the world, so the revolutionised bourgeois knows that it his duty to strain his resources to supply the movement with the sinews of war, and thus make good, in the only practical way, his claim to be disinterested in property. He is not called upon, as some fanatics believe, to imitate a working-class standard of life at which he could no longer perform his own function with any degree of effectiveness.

In short, we work to create a body of men dedicated to the universal establishment of a classless order of whose reality, at every step, the classless body of the party itself is witness. Such a body of men cannot be foolishly committed to this or that dogmatism concerning the unknown future. It is totally unsectarian; it has its centre at a point where the various threads of creative purpose that are in the sects converge. It moves on the inward lines. It is therefore capable of makings its attack on a dozen different points in the vast front of bourgeoisdom. It will speak like a Christian to the Christians, like a technician to the technicians, like an artist to the æsthetics, like a politician to the politicians, and like a Marxist to the Marxists (who are generally as bourgeois as anybody). It forces all alike to face up to the consequences of their own half-conceived ideals. It compels technique into ethics, psychology into economics, religion into reality, and all men, of all kinds, into a complete awareness of their own disordered selves and of the final bankruptcy of that society, whose ignoble confusion is simply their own writ large.

Hysterical Merchandising

GEORGE A. COE

THE contest between chain stores and independent dealers is reaching, in some communities, a stage that may well be described as hysterical. Evanston, Illinois, may be taken as an instance—possibly an extreme one, but even so a revelation of forces that are at work throughout the country. Partly because of the proximity of this moderate-sized city (population, some 60,000) to Chicago, branch stores that deal in clothing, shoes, dry goods, furniture and the like, and chain stores that offer a "complete food service" have arrived in such numbers that "invasion" is not too strong a term for describing the change. To the old-line local dealers, these new establishments, especially the chain stores, are so many claws of a foul dragon. There are loud outcries indicative of pain and fear; there are spasms of action that express nothing less than desperation. And through all this there goes forward a little-recognized process of individual and social disintegration.

An avalanche of costly competitive advertising is perhaps the least spectacular feature of the situation. Yet it is startling. Over and above the ordinary channels of publicity, there are two weekly publications issued wholly in the interest of advertisers, which are delivered free of charge at homes throughout the city. One of these publications is an illustrated magazine of some 60 pages, about one-third of which is devoted to local news.

Next, an association of approximately 300 local dealers is endeavoring to meet the chain-store invasion by intense, concentrated, coöperative, and agonized competition. The most flashy methods of attracting trade are resorted to. When you make a 25-cent purchase, you are handed a ticket that entitles you to a chance in the next drawing of cash prizes and of the bi-weekly master prize, a sedan. In front of one business place today, and of another tomorrow, you can see one of these sedans, much placarded, standing as an exhibit high upon a truck. In multiform ways the association keeps itself and its sedans before the public eye. The chain stores counter, some of them, by offering prizes of their own. Prizes as a selling device are now so nearly universal that they characterize the town.

The method of awarding the prize sedans deserves notice. Drawings are held regularly at some spot where a large audience can assemble. The people come, thousands at a time. Prominent citizens supervise the drawing, which is effected by the hand of a child. Later another assembly is held at which the

sedan is handed over to the winner. These events are duly heralded as though they were of great public concern.

If you tell one of these independent dealers that his prices must be too high because they include the cost of sedans, cash prizes, and prodigal advertising, your words will make no impression upon him; for he is engaged in a war, not in economic reflection. The town is overrun with establishments for cleaning and pressing, all clamant for trade, and some of them members of the association. The proprietor of almost any one of these establishments will tell you, "If I didn't get into the advertising game, I might as well quit business." If you reply that there are too many cleaning establishments, he will heartily assent. Yet he will not see that the public pays the rent and overhead of all unnecessary establishments.

THE complaint against the chain stores is manifold. You are told that they pay their women employees only nine dollars a week, and their men only \$12; that they use short weights and measures, one store having been caught in the act; that their cash is not deposited in local banks, and does not circulate in the community but goes immediately to the big financial centers, Wall Street being the real heart of the whole thing; that the struggle is against monopoly and the strangulation of the country by the money octopus. Fathers and mothers are assured that if this thing goes on their sons will have great difficulty in finding any job, and that in the jobs they do find they will be servants of the same wealth that destroyed their father's business. It appears, in fact, that more than a hundred stores and shops closed their doors during the past year.

The public-school teachers of Evanston are receiving no cash salary payments, but, like the Chicago teachers, tax-anticipation warrants. The banks no longer invest in these warrants. How, then, are the teachers to procure the necessities of life? A fragment of a solution for this problem has been found. A mail-order house exchanges its own scrip or credit coupons for these tax-anticipation warrants; therefore clothing can be bought. A chain food store in the same way makes it possible to buy food. Drugs and gasoline are procurable by the same roundabout route. Cash is still needed, however, for rent and other expenses. How can it be procured? The teachers obtain a little, probably a mere dribble, by selling scrip or books of coupons to their friends. This situation arouses the independent dealers. They themselves cannot accept the

tax-warrants, even though they bear interest, because the man who does business upon a small capital must keep all of it at work. Hence the local merchants can only stand aside and gnash their teeth as they see trade turned to big out-of-town capitalists. Threats are now openly made that if the school board and the teachers persist in their course a move will be started for cutting down the school budget and abolishing some of the school offices. It is even intimated that the schools may be closed before the end of the present school year.

Finally, as might be expected, the specter of direct and positive corruption rises upon the scene. The independents have published a document that purports to reveal amazing partiality in personal-property assessments. Reproductions of photographs present a score of lightly assessed chain stores paired with heavily assessed home-owned stores, each pair situated in the same vicinity.

THE reason for going into these details is that they seem likely to make more than ordinarily clear certain human factors in our entire system of merchandising. Four propositions that have wide significance can be made with assurance:

First, no relief is in sight. The independents appear to think of themselves as making a desperate last stand. Probably they know by this time that giving away sedans does not help; they ought to realize that a quarrel with the school board will not help. No local measures of any kind give promise of controlling the situation. The forces at work are nation-wide, almost world-wide, and they are grounded in the economic system that is accepted by both parties to the struggle. One is tempted to say that an island that is inhabited by people who have no boats is sinking into the sea.

Second, the system that controls both the chain stores and their opponents squeezes store employees on the one hand and consumers on the other. The employee has to be mechanized to the utmost, speeded up, and underpaid; the consumers must ultimately pay the cost of this whole crazy war. No part of the system is built or maintained with a view to feeding and clothing human beings; the intent is rather to exploit their necessity. The result, over and above economic waste, is to set persons apart from one another; what ought to be a community is being broken up and in a sense destroyed.

Third, mental disintegration is going on upon a large scale. The simple, concrete, objective, focalized processes of mind that were required by the old-fashioned relation of dealer to customer—a relation of semi-personal service to one's neighbors—are being replaced by absorption in theories, abstractions, and phantoms. In thousands of the populace, moreover, the deteriorative processes of mind that attend the worship of luck are going on. Imagine a concourse of several

thousand persons watching a lottery drawing, each hoping that he will be the recipient of a "free" sedan.

Fourth, "private" business turns out to be more than private. The postmaster has to be on the alert to see that advertisements of the local lottery do not slip into the mails—through the regular press as well as through mere advertising sheets. The public-school system, struggling for its breath already, is threatened with further and even more serious disablement. Business and taxes are all tangled up. If it should prove that the larger concerns have tampered with officials of the tax department, probably no one who knows the ways of big business in Chicago would be greatly surprised. Moreover, if the federal income tax of the big fellows were to be compared with that of the little ones, the latter might discover that here, too, "the cards are stacked against them." In view of the entire situation, it would be interesting to know whether the little fellows vote the same two national tickets as the big ones!

The Men of Ur and Akkad

THE MAN OF AKKAD:

THE men of Ur have heads too round.

They have to build themselves a mound

To reach their god. Their toes turn in,

They have no hair upon their chin.

They are not men. Their women wear

The finer wool and build their hair

High as towers in their pride,

The men go meekly dressed in hide.

They eat the fat part of their goats,

Their speech is low down in their throats.

To them the only proper word

Is the thin edge of the sword.

THE MAN OF UR:

THE men of Akkad have no faces,

Their curled beards are the nesting places
of the vermin and the flea.

They turn their toes out wantonly.

Their heads are squeezed too long for brains,

They have to ask their gods for rains.

They beat their wives, they wear soft clothes,

Their speech is high and through the nose,

Their noses are as great as plows,

They eat the udders of their cows.

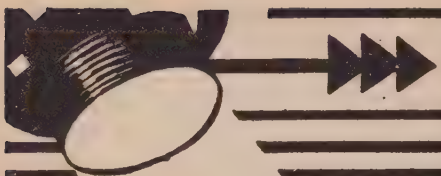
The language that will suit them best

Is the arrow through the breast.

Ur and Akkad are dead sands,

But they have sons in living lands.

ROBERT P. TRISTRAM COFFIN



Not in the

England Loses Another Prop

The draining of gold from India since England went off the gold standard has served to alienate from the British government still another faction of India's population—and a very powerful one. Indian landlords, who have up to now been staunch supporters of the Government, are beginning to feel the effect of the drain, and according to a news report in the London *Times*, have determined to oppose all official resolutions in the United Provinces Legislative Council as a protest against the Government's inability to accept their demands for remissions of revenue. The opposition of the landholders is looked upon as a further step in the process of attaining Indian unity.

Did Anyone Match This?

What was in all likelihood the best showing made by any Socialist in the last elections is reported from California, where J. Stitt Wilson, running for Congress, polled 25,000 votes to 30,000 for the Democratic candidate and 45,000 for the Republican. The Thomas vote in the district was only 3,500 and the total Socialist registration only 700.

The Doctors Look at War

At the last meeting of the International Medical Conference it was agreed that concerted action by the medical profession against war is imperative. Dr. Bushnell, of London, gave statistical evidence of post-war diseases and stressed the increase of mental deficiency in the generation born during the War. An International Medical Committee of the Anti-War Congress was set up with headquarters in Berlin (Dr. Felix Boenheim, Berlin, Schluterstrasse 33, Germany) to continue the work of conducting the doctors' campaign against war.

Congress Honors Its Dead

Representative Samuel B. Pettengill is advocating curtailment of what he calls the funeral racket. The Clerk of the House reports, according to the Washington correspondent of the United Press, that the funeral of the late Speaker Nicholas Longworth cost the government \$6,422.20. In addition to the transportation charges which make up the bulk of the bill, many odd items are found in the legislators' expense accounts. One bill listed a charge of \$4 for underwear.

Cotton in U.S.S.R.

Cotton plantations, a comparatively new culture in the U.S.S.R. show an interesting development during recent years. In Asia the area under cotton increased by 105 per cent, in Armenia 107 per cent, and in Georgia 286 per cent.

Children's Books and World Good Will

A study to aid in developing international good will through children's books has been completed by the International Bureau of Education at Geneva. The books listed represent 37 countries and include children's classics, true pictures of child life in each country, picture books and books written by children.

Economic Stagnation

According to the President of the Railway Executives Association, over 42 per cent of the railroad mileage of the country only one train a day is being run. Last year 66 per cent of the equipment on the Great Lakes was tied up at the docks for lack of business.

Hospitals in the Depression

According to the American Medical Association, 110 hospitals closed their doors in 1931 and many others are on the verge of doing so due to financial stringency. On the average, the hospitals of the country are now giving more than 30 per cent of their services to patients who cannot pay, while at the same time their earnings have fallen off 15 to 20 per cent.

Catholic International Affairs Clubs

International Relations Clubs in Catholic schools are on the increase. The same holds true of Newman Clubs and women's groups associated with the National Council of Catholic Women. Among the subjects discussed are International Ethics; Causes of War; Security, Old and New; and Europe and the United States.

War Resisters "In Dutch"

The War Resister, organ of the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex, England, publishes a list of 24 Dutch war resisters now in prison for refusal to perform military service, with the dates on which they will be released. All war resisters in Holland are now sentenced to ten months' imprisonment for unwillingness to join the army. Having served this sentence, they are free from all military duties and are not again punished.

State Debts Exceed Two Billions

A tabulation made public at the national convention of the Association of State Auditors, Comptrollers and Treasurers reveals that the total bonded indebtedness of the 48 states is \$2,374,987,294.01.

Farm Taxes

The Department of Agriculture is making regional tax surveys. It discovered that in California, Washington and Oregon farm taxes were from 99 to 194 per cent higher in 1930 than in 1913.

More Taxless Cities

Iola, Kansas, has a tax rate for 1933 of 75 cents per \$100 valuation and it is expected that next year there will be no taxes. The reason? The city owns and operates its own water, light and gas systems.

Lighting San Quentin's "Dark Hole"

The dark hole where so many criminal syndicalism prisoners have been confined, to the risk or ruin of their health, is no more. Lights have been installed in the San Quentin dungeons, and stools will hereafter be furnished. Nevertheless, prisoners will on occasion still be confined in "solitary" on bread and water.

Schools Sacrificed to Depression

School opportunities for American children are being sacrificed for the first time during a depression, according to the National Education Association. About three out of every four cities are attempting to operate on a smaller school budget this year than last year. All earlier depressions in the United States failed to damage the schools.

Opium in Manchukuo

"A revenue-yielding opium monopoly will soon legally supply opium with which to drug those Chinese in Manchuria who have not yet fallen victims of the illicit traffic in morphine, heroin, and cocaine which has for years been carried on in Manchuria and northern China by Japanese," comments the Anti-Opium Information Bureau, at Geneva. *The Japan Advertiser* reports that "the Manchukuo government has promulgated provisional regulations governing the purchase of opium by government officials and other authorized persons from the general public. This step was taken preparatory to the adoption of an opium monopoly system, for which a committee will be appointed to make all necessary preparations."

Headlines

Farm Coöperatives

A study of coöperative marketing associations of farmers by the Federal Farm Board reveals that 12,455 are still in existence, while 8,242 have been discontinued.

Polish Women's Journal Suppressed

The September number of *Głos Kobiet* (Women's Voice), organ of the women members of the Polish Socialist Party, was confiscated by the authorities, who objected to poems, and to two articles describing the gains made in Socialist women's organization.

Page Mr. Doak!

An increasing number of students from the 20 republics south of the Rio Grande have been flowing into the educational institutions of the United States. In 1931-32 over 1,200 were enrolled in universities and colleges, not counting the number in preparatory, commercial, and technical schools. About 35 institutions grant scholarships to Latin Americans and some 40 more offer them free tuition. Various foundations and associations also grant fellowships to these students.

Higher Education

Registration in American colleges and universities showed a decrease of 4.5 per cent in the number of full-time students and seven per cent in grand total enrollment as compared with last year. The statistics were derived from 438 approved colleges and universities. Nevertheless, the total is higher for these institutions than in 1927. There are 568,169 full-time students and a grand total of 855,863 registrations in the higher schools of the country.

Women Farmers in Latvia

A second inquiry has been carried out concerning women's work on the cultivable land of Latvia. In 1923 it had already been shown that out of 186,678 agricultural wage-earners, 97,399 were women and 89,279 men. In the course of six relatively peaceful and normal years the proportion of women wage-earners employed in Latvian agriculture rose from 52 to 56 per cent, it was revealed by a census taken in 1929. The Labor and Socialist International is pointing out that their wages, however, amount in most cases to about half that paid to the men, and in the most favorable instances to only two-thirds. The Latvian Socialists and labor unions are agitating vigorously for "equal pay for equal work."

Negro Office-holders

There are 15 judges, a congressman, a state assemblyman, two state senators and 21 aldermen of the Negro race in the United States.

Unemployment Insurance

In 30 state legislatures unemployment insurance bills will be introduced this winter. In Europe 47 million workers are protected by some form of job insurance. About 39 million of these are under compulsory systems.

Citizens' Gifts

Build \$25,000 School

A \$25,000 school building has been erected in Nathan's Creek, N. C., at a cost to the county of only \$1,000. This achievement was made possible by the gifts of material and labor by the citizens of the community. No bonds were sold and no debts contracted in the erection of the building.

Power Trust Gouging

Morris Llewellyn Cooke, consulting engineer, declared that domestic consumers of electricity were being gouged more than \$500,000,000 a year. After 20 years' study of the problem he holds that every householder is assessed \$10 to \$15 a year above what should be charged. And conditions are not getting better: in 1926 the average domestic consumer of electricity paid \$29.50 a year, while in 1931 he paid \$33.70.

Birth-rate and the Depression

The birth-rate in the United States showed a decline of 5.8 per cent for 1931 as compared with 1930, according to the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. A new low is expected for 1932. The decrease is more pronounced among the industrial than the agricultural population, but the greatest decline—14.3 per cent—is recorded in the non-industrial state of Arizona.

Coal Substitutes

On many South Dakota farms the low cost of agricultural products will not permit the farmer to buy coal. So the farmers are turning to substitutes. Among these are corn, wood, and thistle briquettes. The heat value of corn is small, but the price is cheap. Wood is secured from the woodlots along streams and hills, a practice which has already damaged many natural beauty spots. Thistles are compressed in a newly invented baler into three-pound bricks. A brick lasts half an hour and produces a hot fire.

Starving the Public Libraries

A group of the largest public libraries have had their book appropriations reduced by about 18 per cent from 1930. Meanwhile the circulation of serious books has greatly increased during the depression—up to 81.5 per cent.

Old Age Pensions

The recent elections registered an emphatic approval of old age pensions. Missouri held a popular referendum on the question and approved the pensions by more than four to one. The Democratic platform urges security against old age want. Ten governors friendly to the movement were elected. One reverse was suffered, when Ohio defeated the pensions by a vote of two to one.

Mexicans Returning

The new city directory of Los Angeles shows 661,135 names, as against an estimated figure in 1931 of about 46,000 more. More than 65,000 Mexicans are estimated to have returned to their native land in the past few months. Tragic situations are numerous in this sort of migration, for large numbers of the younger people going back, though their parents are Mexicans, were born in the United States and have no roots in Mexico.

French School Books and Peace

There is much militarism in French school texts, as has been shown repeatedly. But there is also much opposition to war. A German, H. Werneke, has made a collection of these materials in German translation in a booklet of 64 pages, which he calls *Der Friedensgedanke in den französischen Schulbüchern*. The quotations range over many centuries and indicate the richness of French pacifist thought.

Household Serfs

The depression has "solved the eternal domestic service problem in America," says the December issue of *Fortune*. For the first time in a generation the supply of trained domestic workers is greater than the demand. Hundreds of thousands of maids may be hired for as low as four dollars a month plus board. In Los Angeles you can have your garden taken care of for a dollar a week. In Virginia a Negro will do your washing and fry your chicken for eight dollars a month. Anywhere in the North you will find trained girls glad to work at five dollars a week and less trained girls to do any form of household work in exchange for room and board.

Latin America and Revolution

SAMUEL GUY INMAN

THE outstanding word in all the countries of Latin America today is *Revolution*. Since many other parts of the world are also either in the throes of revolution or preparing for one, it was especially interesting for me, in the course of a long and intensive trip through South and Central America, to study the causes and results of the uprising in that quarter of the globe.

The modern revolution is not, like the old kind, carried on by military leaders, backed by a few desperados. It is not simply a case of outsiders wanting to get in. It is fundamentally a social struggle. Politicians and army officers of course participate in the revolutions and often seemingly direct them. But social and economic forces furnish the power.

"What interests us in these commotions," says the review *America*, published in Quito, Ecuador, "is not what general may have been executed by the orders of some other general, but what is the destiny of the cane-cutter in Cuba, the coffee-planter in Brazil, the peon on the Argentine stock-farm, the miner in Peru, the grape-cultivator in Chile; in a word, what interests us is the destiny of the proletariat."

An appreciation of this new interest in social problems is fundamental in understanding the wholesale crop of revolutions during the last three years. But the immediate cause of their breaking out all at about the same time is seen in economic conditions. During the World War Latin America was immensely impressed with the power of the machine and many of her leaders began to believe that material development must be introduced more rapidly. At the same time the United States became a creditor nation instead of a debtor, and began searching for an investment outlet for her enormous surplus of capital. These two circumstances were mainly responsible for the rise of a new type of dictator—one who looked upon his country as an undeveloped piece of real estate for which only money was needed to promote modernization. The newly appointed agents of the North American bankers began to assure him that there would be no difficulty about that—providing he would give them sufficiently tight mortgages.

The United States investments in Latin America at the beginning of the World War amounted to \$1,242,000,000. In 1929, when the increase on these investments was suddenly stopped by the financial crisis in New York, they amounted to \$5,587,494,100. Consider the enormous influence of these investments in some of the more backward countries, industrially

speaking. In Colombia only \$2,000,000 of American money was invested in 1913, but in 1929 the amount had grown to \$260,000,000. Within the same 16 years United States investments had risen in Peru from \$35,000,000 to \$150,000,000; in Chile from \$15,000,000 to \$550,000,000; in Bolivia from \$10,000,000 to \$133,000,000; in Brazil from \$20,000,000 to \$476,000,000; in Argentina from \$40,000,000 to \$611,000,000.

As long as the strong man can borrow funds to carry out an active program of public works and can sustain himself by issuing contracts and various awards to friends and to the army which supports him, he is likely to hold power. But when a great economic crisis develops, then not only the political malcontents but the growing democratic element, opposed to such dictatorship, have opportunity to assert themselves. That is exactly what has happened in Latin America. Dictators fell rapidly after the Wall Street debacle in 1929—Leguia in Peru, Siles in Bolivia, Irigoyen in Argentina, Ibañez in Chile, Washington Luis in Brazil, Vasquez in Santo Domingo, Ayora, in Ecuador—down they came, one following the other. And along with the fall of these dictators has gone a fall in the value of Latin American bonds.

THIS reaction has brought about one of the most serious breaks in the friendship of American countries that have ever occurred. In Latin America the air is filled with accusations against the bankers who pressed these loans on the dictators. In North America the old cry has been raised about the lack of honor in Latin America. These countries are suffering not only from the general world depression, but must face larger charges for foreign debts than many of the countries of Europe. Currency is everywhere depreciated and the deflation is going on at a tremendous pace. These countries face a terrible struggle in the years to come, with little but poverty to be expected.

In Peru, following the fall of Leguia, the radical socialistic party composed of students and laborers came near electing their candidate for the presidency, Haya de la Torre. But the reformers are now being cruelly persecuted by the reactionary government of Sanchez Cerro. The weakness of his government is shown by his picking a quarrel with Colombia over the frontier Amazon town of Leticia, in order to have his opponents forget their grievances in rallying to save the *patria*—an old scheme of dictators. Something of this same thing has taken place in Bolivia,

where reform measures have been pushed to the background by a foreign war over the Chaco, although President Salamanca favored reform and seemed to be swept into war with Paraguay by forces outside his control. In Chile, the old oligarchy that has ruled the country for a hundred years has been routed. But the radical social forces have not yet proven they have sufficient unity and understanding to carry forward their program. The return of President Alessandri to power offers some hope, though he will have to assume vigorous leadership in thorough social and economic reorganization if he is to avoid a long and bloody upheaval.

In Argentina the overthrow of Irigoyen was mostly a political movement, and his successors have clamped down the liberty of speech to such a degree that it is not likely that Argentine people, even though they do despise violence in politics, will be likely to suffer for long such denials of liberty.

Brazil is facing the same fundamental question of the possibility of uniting various interests, within the country, economic and geographic, as did the United States in the middle of the last century. The recent revolution only threw this question more to the center of the stage. Underneath it, of course, are fundamental social issues hardly even defined so far.

SINCE the dictators made no preparation for democracy, one finds all over Latin America, in this year of 1932, revolution, civil war, international strife, militarism, chaos. This year we see Sao Paulo against the rest of Brazil, Paraguay and Bolivia in a bloody but undeclared war, Peru and Colombia mobilizing because of a little unknown town of Leticia on a swampy frontier, Ecuador and Chile in chaotic convulsions, Argentina and Uruguay breaking diplomatic relations. There remains in peace only Venezuela, the Venezuela of Bolivar, where the dictator Gomez has filled the jails with the flower of the nation's manhood, sowing the seeds of one of the worst revolutions imaginable on the American continent.

Revolutions often seem glorious, superficially; but historians are now beginning to point out that many revolutions, as our own in 1775, might have been avoided. All the good they produced might have been obtained if the authorities on both sides had shown more patience and wisdom. A recent example of that type is found in Brazil, where there were no fundamental irreconcilable differences but only certain questions of personalities and political dignity easily arranged through tact and good will. But these were exactly the qualities that were wanting. So Sao Paulo threw itself into an armed movement against the central government, just as our Southern states did against Washington, and now, after three months of warfare—losses on both sides calculated at 20,000 lives and a billion and a half *contos* in money—the slow

road of reconstruction in the midst of smoldering resentments, broken hearts and pocket-books must be begun.

However, one cannot deny that at times a fundamental revolution that goes to the roots of a national evil, as a surgeon at times must cut very near to the vitals of his patient, seems to bring results that justify the loss of much blood. Who knows? The problem is indeed difficult of solution, for man has invented no scales by which the advantages and disadvantages can be accurately weighed where so many imponderables are involved.

But is there a better way than that of revolution? It seems to me that Spain has just shown us that way. Its recent bloodless revolution was the result of long preparation. The revolution in the soul of Spain took place ten years ago. The cruel repression of the general strike in 1917 and the defeat of the nation in Morocco in 1921, followed by the explosion against the King, which led to the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, made it difficult to suppress revolutionary outbreaks before the intellectual elements felt that the movement had sufficient strength to carry through. Nevertheless, close and sympathetic contacts between these leaders and the growing, well-disciplined Socialist movement prepared the blow for a time when all was in readiness, in April of 1931. Then King Alfonso departed from Madrid voluntarily.

BUT we must recognize that not all movements do have the intelligence or the patience to make such deliberate, invincible preparation, and that at times abuses are so great that a people cannot afford to wait for the slow methods of education. Under such conditions, the socially-minded idealist faces a difficult alternative. If he comes to believe that justice cannot wait on the slower methods of education, then he must decide to accept the use of social coercion and resistance as means of securing just action. When he is forced that far, then he begins to wrestle with the question as to whether the struggle cannot be limited to methods of non-violence. If so, what are such methods? In answering this question, we have more to learn perhaps from the Orient than from the Occident. Certainly we can find valuable suggestions in studying the way Mahatma Gandhi has combined moral and spiritual principles in making an effective protest against abuses, compelling unwilling officials to grant needed justice, and shaking old systems to their foundations. I firmly believe that we can avoid a rapid spread of bloody and perhaps futile revolution on our continent if all open-minded people will frankly admit the failure of the present order, cease to defend it, and turn with enthusiasm to the building of a new order, where the human rights of the many rather than the success of a few will be the major principle at the center of society.



The Book End

With occasional exceptions important enough to merit drastic criticism, THE WORLD TOMORROW reviews only books which it believes, after careful evaluation, are of genuine worth.

Illusions—Petty and Majestic

Civilizing Ourselves. By Everett Dean Martin. W. W. Norton and Company. \$3.00.

THE name of the author of this book is guarantee that it is better than its title. The title suggests a book rather similar to the volumes written by the late Mr. Dorsey. But we know that Everett Dean Martin is too penetrating to give us anything of that kind. His new volume convicts modern cosmologies and philosophies of history of the same taint of superstition and wishful thinking which the moderns imagine themselves to have escaped. The idea of progress, the Marxian expectation of a cataclysmic change in the social order, the humanitarian dreams of a brotherly society, all these philosophies and prophecies of history are, according to Mr. Martin, vestigial remnants of religion and they all have the same purpose of making an unfriendly or at least an indifferent cosmos appear friendly to the human enterprise in general and to our individual moral ideals in particular. He thinks that if you need a rationalized version of a religious interpretation of the universe you could do no better than adopt the system of Thomas Aquinas, which he regards as superior to the unconscious rationalizations of religious ideas indulged in by modern devotees of the idea of progress. That one judgment proves how much more clearly Mr. Martin thinks than do the superficial moderns who imagine themselves emancipated because they have substituted petty illusions for majestic ones in expressing their sense of a cosmic destiny which is relevant to the business of human living.

Mr. Martin's position is not dissimilar to that of Mr. Santayana. He does not believe that the physical universe can possibly yield any meaning if man does not read meaning into it. He is probably right in that assertion. There is an ultrarational element in every philosophy of history and every cosmology, even in the scientific one which assumes that the universe is rational in order that it may reason about it.

Whether Mr. Martin is right in assuming that a completely mature person will be under neither rational nor moral necessity to make one the two worlds of mind and matter, of consciousness and extension, by an ultrarational venture is another question. In order to prove his point he rests rather heavily upon such psychological ideas as "father-fixation" and "escape-mechanism" and arrives at the conclusion that the only mature person is the completely rational one. Is it really so infantile to wish to escape from the prison of subjectivism and to believe that judgments about the world around us have some actual validity in fact? Or to hope that human life is not completely irrelevant to the character of the universe?

Like all rationalists who fear the possibility of illusion in ultrarational ventures, Mr. Martin has some illusions about the power of reason. He believes, for instance, that it is quite unnecessary to have a Marxian religion in order to achieve a socialist com-

monwealth. He thinks the men of power, aided by the men of science will sooner or later discover that the present social system is impossible and unworkable and will then cooperate in giving us a new one. Which proves that, like most middle-class intellectuals, he has only a very inadequate idea of the tenacity of collective egoism in society and of its blind stupidity. There is little evidence that social inertia, compounded of the stupidity of the many and the self-interest of the few, will ever yield to anything less than a social passion which is nerved by a religious sense of direction and a religious certainty of victory.

There are overbeliefs in all religions which belong in the category of pure illusion. But that does not prove the religious interpretation of the universe (which Mr. Martin quite rightly proves the supposedly irreligious moderns to be sharing with the more conventionally religious) to be wholly illusory. Religion is poetry, but poetry is not purely fantasy. It may be that at times. But it may also give insights into reality through which the soul actually comes into significant contact with its world.

R. N.

East and West

Nationalism and Imperialism in the Hither East. By Hans Kohn. Harcourt, Brace & Co. \$5.00.

WHEN Dr. Kohn's *History of Nationalism in the East* was published in this country two years ago, it made a profound impression. The book revealed a mind of vast knowledge, profound insight, and universal human sympathies focused upon a problem all too little understood in this part of the world and suddenly become central in human affairs. Though beautifully written and ably translated, the *History* was too truly a masterpiece of erudition to gain wide reading among a people to whom the East still seems remote. But by scholars it was immediately recognized and accepted as a work of the first rank in its field.

Now comes, as a sort of sequel to the first, a second book, of narrower range and more contemporary interest but of quite equal importance. This book deals with the Arab world which occupies the area between the Nile and the Euphrates, and includes such regions as Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Iraq, Trans-Jordania, and Arabia proper. It surveys particularly the post-War developments of these countries along political, economic, and social lines, and shows how the Near East is gradually but surely moving into a position of conspicuous importance in international affairs. The awakening of a great people is taking the form of an intensely self-conscious nationalism, accompanied by a renaissance of Islamic faith and culture, which may eventually produce a new and untried civilization. At present, of course, the people are primitive and their social customs and institutions medieval. "There is, indeed, little to distinguish these people culturally," says Dr. Kohn, "from the masses of the Balkan countries before their emancipation." But the forces of liberation are everywhere at work, and

"when political, national aims are achieved, the energies of the moment" will turn to higher things.

It is in the political field that something like a crisis presses today in these countries of the Hither East. For they are all the scene of fierce conflict between the new nationalism which possesses the Arab mind and the still dominating power of European imperialism. "At the present day," writes Dr. Kohn, "Arab nationalism is struggling for liberation and self-expression, for the opportunity to re-enter history as an active factor." Against this movement of self-determination "European imperialism is struggling to retain its predominance, to prolong its rule over alien peoples, conscious of its cultural mission and its superior creative potency." It is the old story of awakening populations seeking to throw off the yoke of subjection, and gain their freedom. "In the present phase of the battle, Arab and Egyptian nationalism, in spite of its inferior cultural creative energy, is the more progressive political force." But the author hastens to point out that this force is aimed in the wrong direction, and is thus following an old road to ruin. "Its ideal," he writes, "is the national state, such as Europe has evolved. But just as that ideal has failed in Europe, so it will fail in the East. World economic organization and world politics are driving us towards a planned union of the largest possible areas, in fact, of the whole earth."

In a procession of chapters, written in the form of historical narrative with appropriate comment, Dr. Kohn develops this line of thought in the case of Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Iraq and other areas. Of these, the one of largest interest to Americans is undoubtedly Palestine, "the little country which has yet attracted the attention of mankind more than any other," and today "makes an impassioned appeal to our feelings and sympathies." On the whole, the situation in the Holy Land looks to him to be very dark, "one of the most tragic and pathetic spectacles of our time." It is different from other critical situations in the Near East in the fact that here you have not a single nationalism seeking release from Western imperialism, but "two movements . . . both inspired by national ideals, both the outcome of love for the same soil," and each, therefore, bitterly hostile to the other. Zionists and

Arabs, in other words, are struggling against one another for "self-preservation and self-development," and over them both is the mandate power of Britain. Dr. Kohn seems to have little confidence in British policy. He sees one more illustration of the old imperialist wisdom of "divide and rule." Interested in "securing a firm foothold in Palestine," the Empire is pretty sure, he thinks, to play off one group against the other, hoping thereby "to meet the wishes of both sides and yet obstruct both," of course in its own interest. What is the solution of the problem Dr. Kohn does not say. Perhaps he does not know!

The need of unity between East and West is obvious, for if we are to survive at all in this age it must be as a single world. "The wide gulf which separated East and West only a few years ago," says Dr. Kohn, "no longer exists. Countries and peoples are merging more and more in a common destiny. . . . There is no mistaking the historical tendencies and streams of consciousness driving steadily towards unity." Even the critical struggle between nationalism and imperialism in this eastern area is not wholly divisive, for it is "part of a world-wide process." Yet ignorance, arrogance, and prejudice are all too prevalent in our Western attitude toward the Orient, and these must be removed before real understanding and coöperation can be achieved. What a Westerner, long resident in the Hither East, can do to this end is eloquently attested by this noble volume.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

Man's Rough Road

Man's Rough Road. By A. G. Keller. Frederick A. Stokes Company and Yale University Press. 450 pp. \$3.00.

IT is not often that a book on a difficult scientific subject, written for popular consumption, receives the unqualified praise of experts and laymen alike. Such, however, is the achievement of *Man's Rough Road*, and it is well deserved; for here, in 450 thrilling pages is recorded, upon the basis of sound scholarship, the pageantry of civilization's gradual development. We see man emerge from his primitive state, witness his alchemy turn to chemistry, his astrology to astronomy, his magic to religion; and all to the accompaniment of an incredible array of taboos, fetishes, and deep-seated prejudices which have clung to him throughout the long process of his enlightenment, and which, according to their nature, bless or curse humanity to this very day.

Civilization as we know it is the sum total of man's successful adjustments to an unyielding nature. The plot of human history is simply this: Man faces the awkward situation, and as he does so he asks himself the age-old question, "Now what to do?" Always he has to deny himself and do the disagreeable task. Pressed as he was to sustain his very life, the savage had no time for metaphysical speculation as to the right and wrong of things. That which the mores sanctioned was right, whether it was slavery, the suppression of womanhood or the sacrifice of individuals. And even the unfortunate victims of such customs did not consider themselves wronged, for they too accepted the mores of their group, and reconciled themselves to the consequences.

Professor Keller reminds us that progress, consciously desired, is comparatively new in the history of civilization. For the savage there was no thought of progress, no meditation on immortality. The meaning of these terms was beyond him, engrossed as he was in his everyday affairs. And so also in the matter of social and political adjustment. Wherever tribes made peace with each other, and learned to coöperate economically, they did so not out of sentiments of brotherly love and good will, but because it was to

This Week's Anniversary CARL SANDBURG

BORN JANUARY 6, 1878

A man saw the whole world as a grinning skull and cross-bones. The rose flesh of life shriveled from all faces. Nothing counts. Everything is a fake. Dust to dust and ashes to ashes and then an old darkness and a useless silence. So he saw it all. Then he went to a Mischa Elman concert. Two hours' waves of sound beat on his eardrums. Music washed something or other inside him. Music broke down and rebuilt something or other in his head and heart. He joined in five encores for the young Russian Jew with the fiddle. When he got outside his heels hit the sidewalk a new way. He was the same man in the same world as before. Only there was a singing fire and a climb of roses everlastingly over the world he looked on.—From *Chicago Poems*.

their advantage, and was often the only means of avoiding mutual extermination.

Here then is a hard lesson for reformers, crusaders, and idealists. The author preaches, by implication, a stern doctrine of fatalistic realism. Man must forever make his peace with nature; the latter, unyielding, will never adjust itself to man's needs or desires. We do not shape events; events shape us to a large degree, and the institutions of society have been evolved gradually by normal people doing their serious best to live under actual conditions, "and checked at every turn on the hard facts of life." Economic justice will not come in a decade, or in a generation, but only in the course of a slow, tortuous working out of a sort of grim justice, and at a fearful cost in terms of human suffering.

But this onward sweep is not entirely overwhelming, and neither is man entirely helpless. Indeed, he has never long admitted his helplessness, and he has ever tried his hand at changing the course of history. As modern man faces his own "awkward situation", and asks himself the age-old question, Professor Keller suggests three possible attitudes: (1) To let events, unhindered, take their course; (2) To meddle indiscriminately; (3) To interfere discerningly. Needless to say, he recommends the third. Not to interfere at all is to surrender abjectly to a miserable sort of determinism; to meddle indiscriminately is easy enough, but it involves the giving of oneself over to muddleheaded and futile idealism. To interfere discerningly is our only hope, and there is nothing easy about it.

EDWIN T. BUEHRER

CORRESPONDENCE

Pig Iron Not Enough

I HAVE just read Mr. Maxwell S. Stewart's article, "The Five Year Plan Completed" in your issue of December 14. I am not infallible and I may be mistaken, but to me the article did not seem the unbiased conclusions of a personal observer. Rather it seemed to me the enthusiastic article of a partisan who has based his statements on paper reports.

Everyone who has visited Russia and studied the situation without bias agrees that the Five Year Plan is one of the world's most gigantic, most tragic failures. What it has cost the Russian millions in hunger and shabbiness, in lack of clothing, shoes and shelter, in oppression and suppression, the world will never know. But Mr. Stewart tells us that the output of pig iron in the U.S.S.R. during August and September was not only greater than that of any other country in Europe but even surpassed production in the United States by more than five per cent. Assuming this to be true, what of it? Can the hungry people, can the old men and women with emaciated faces, eat pig iron? Can the barefoot men and women of all classes (except those of the bureaucracy and the Red Army) put pig iron on their feet?

It is remarkable how our parlor communists will gloss over or justify things in Russia for which any capitalist or democratic government would be held up to execration.

New York, N. Y.

DR. WILLIAM J. ROBINSON

Down to Fundamentals

MAY I tell you how heartily I enjoyed the editorial reminder, in your issue of December 21, that Great Britain's laudable readiness to submit to The Hague her dispute over Persian oil does not go far enough? As you say, the court will probably

declare that Persia is legally wrong in cancelling her agreement. But since the original contract was the outcome of superior British force, here we shall have the machinery of peace used by a great Power to continue a vested injustice. The point has its importance for preachers, for editors, for all who are working to create a new public opinion. In our eagerness to abolish war many of us are prone to put our trust into disarmament conferences, World Courts, Leagues of Nations, or other such mechanisms. But useful as all these undoubtedly are, their vitality depends first and last upon the ideas which guide them.

How, as you properly insist, can a World Court do "justice" when its decisions are based upon legalistic conceptions which ignore such new problems as the emergence of a Persia bent on freeing itself from the stranglehold of British imperialism? Are the judges any more awake to this problem than the conservative judges in our own Supreme Court are awake to the demands of a changing social order? If any court is to meet the needs of a new age, must it not work with new tools, a body of principles which recognizes the new needs? Will the League work out such principles? Where must we look for the generating of them?

I hope you will carry further the thought conveyed in your editorial. Here is one of the most useful undertakings which a journal of opinion can set itself.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

HENRY NEUMANN

Shock-Troops of Peace

ANY organization that unites the war resisters of 54 countries in a world movement; that maintains affiliated sections in 26 countries; that carries on correspondence in 14 languages; that holds regular international conferences under enormous difficulties; that rescues or relieves from persecution, through world-wide protests of intellectuals and workers, many obscure but pioneering rebels against military autocracy; that has secured the coöperation of Einstein, Wells, Rolland, and other renowned figures; and that does all this, year in and year out, on what is probably the lowest budget of any movement in the world in proportion to actual achievement—deserves to keep on with its indispensable work.

But the members and groups of the War Resisters' International in many lands are struggling against conditions incredibly worse than those faced by adventurous groups in the United States, hard as our own situation often is. A budget of £1000 annually cannot be curtailed drastically without disaster.

On behalf of the Western Hemisphere Committee of the War Resisters' International, with members from most American pacifist bodies, this appeal is addressed to Americans who abhor war, and who have an opportunity to sustain those in various countries who can oppose war uncompromisingly only by coming into immediate conflict with ruthless militarism and conscription. Furthermore, a fine, constructive job in war prevention is being undertaken by the W.R.I., building up as it does throughout the world an intelligent, unified opposition to war even as a last resort, while at the same time laboring to eradicate the root causes of war in the social order.

Contributions large or small may be sent (preferably) direct to Arthur Ponsonby, Chairman, War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex, England; or to the undersigned, who will forward them promptly.

DEVERE ALLEN,

Chairman, Western Hemisphere Committee,
War Resisters' International.

Wilton, Conn.

Who's Who in This Issue

John Middleton Murry is editor of the "Adelphi" (London) and the author of "Jesus, Man of Genius," "The Necessity of Communism" and other works.

Robert P. Tristram Coffin is the author of "Portrait of an American" and several volumes of poetry.

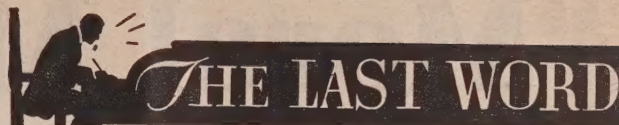
Samuel Guy Inman, executive secretary of the Committee on Coöperation in Latin America, has just returned from an extended visit in South and Central America.

John Haynes Holmes is minister of Community Church in New York and is the author of "Palestine Today and Tomorrow."

Edwin T. Buehrer is minister of the First Congregational Church in Haworth, N. J.

William J. Robinson is editor of the *Medical Critic and Guide*.

Henry Neumann is leader of the Brooklyn Society for Ethical Culture.



I CAN'T deny that I was flattered. "On September 3, 1845, in Palooka, Oklahoma," the letter said, "there was born a man of whom his birthplace was proud." Now it happened that this was my birthday and my birthplace, which I have changed here for modesty's sake, the real ones being June 24, 1891 and Providence, R. I. Before I had time to enjoy the first thrill of being so addressed, Boobson's Records—for it was none other—went on, "We refer to you, who have won renown as a writer. Upon this work you must look back with great satisfaction." I didn't like so peremptory a tone; I can look back on this work any way I darn please.

"Have you given the same thought to money matters that you have to your profession? . . . If you are satisfied with the way you have handled your money, we ask your pardon for writing you; but otherwise we urge you to let us help you from now on. . . . This is probably your last chance." There was also a neat little jab about the duty to my family in making careful investments. And it was climaxed by the signature of a Vice President, so boldly executed that it resembled nothing so much as some of Gutzon Borglum's little work on Stone Mountain.

DEBATE! DARE WE DISARM?



JAN. 1
SUNDAY
8:30 P.M.
Norman vs. Gen. Smedley D.
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World Tomorrow Radio Hour

Station WEVD

Tuesday

1300K—231M

Jan. 3—8:15 P.M.

Speaker: Devere Allen

Other weekly features of Station WEVD:

The Group Theater, Sunday, 8:30 P.M.

Michael Strange, Tuesday, 5:15 P.M.

Hendrik Van Loon, Friday, 8:15 P.M.

Birth Control Radio Series, Monday, 5:00 P.M.

EVER since the new Whos' Who in America came out, things like this have been happening. I had scarcely telephoned all the neighbors to come right over, I had something to show them, when people began to write me belittling communications. As a writer I might be the cat's antennae, but what did I know about spraying trees? I might nail down a neat epigram once every few years, but could I lay shingles properly on my indubitably rotting roof? Ideas might sprout afresh in the field of literature, but wasn't I growing bald? Such problems as these ought to be handled by specialists—men and women who, it was subtly hinted, were almost as celebrated in their lines as I in mine.

Now it is true that once I made an investment, and hardly in marvellous judgment. It was, in fact, the only investment of my lifetime, consisting of the purchase of one share of stock in a candy company. That I obtained the whole two dollars' worth back immediately in two pounds of excellent chocolates, plus a beautifully engraved piece of paper, seemed reassuring at the time. There was one moment of embarrassment when, a month later, a man called at my door and tried to sell me a *real* block of the stock, and I had to tell him that I could only buy more, so conservative was I, on the earnings to be made by the first two dollars. But for years I always received four cents in stamps every quarter, and it made me feel on a footing with the big business men I met at this or that affair. Ever since 1930, however, the stamps have stopped coming.

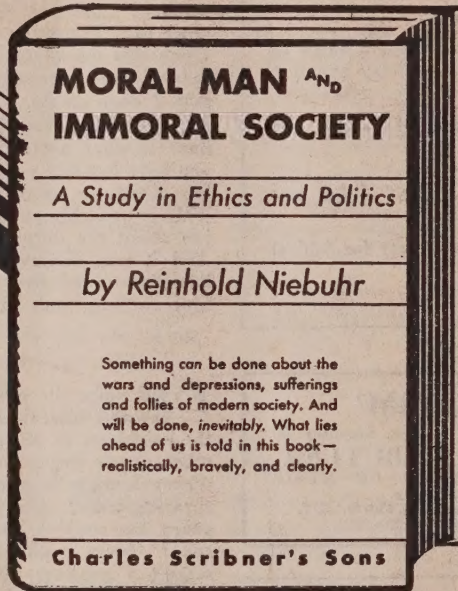
Probably it is just as well. For now I sympathize; I, too, am one of the country's suffering owning class. It enables me to sniff a bit and feel that glow of vicarious sorrow whenever I hear of some great captain of industry who has said to his men, "Boys, I've fired my servants in my Long Island home and closed it up till better times; the Florida estate is cut to the bone; and now, to my regret, I'll have to reduce your pay another 25 per cent."

"Doesn't it occur to you," says the advertisement of a great Trust Company, "in reviewing your mistakes in investments, that in all likelihood your beneficiaries will have even more difficulty in handling financial affairs?" They couldn't. And if the American people ever get to thinking about who is to blame for the mistakes they have made in their investments, some of the "experts" whose ouija boards spelled nonsense from 1920 to 1929 better pick their nearest exits now, and be ready to run, not walk.

This information is not guaranteed but is reliable according to the best of our knowledge and belief.

Eccentricus ■

"Moral Man and Immoral Society"



by
**Reinhold
Niebuhr**

Editor
**The World
Tomorrow**

MAN as an individual, says Dr. Niebuhr, is generally idealistic—a moral character—but collectively mankind is immoral. That is one reason why the world finds itself in the situation now existing. The highest ideals which the individual may express are ideals which he can never realize in social and collective terms.

People will not want to believe the ideas presented in this book. Nobody ever wants to believe it is

necessary to have an operation. But, in the present social crisis, as in the case of an operation, he who believes in surgery soonest has the greatest chance to survive.

Reinhold Niebuhr has not evaded the truths people do not want to hear. He has said, strangely enough, the things people are afraid to acknowledge, even though they are aware of them.

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